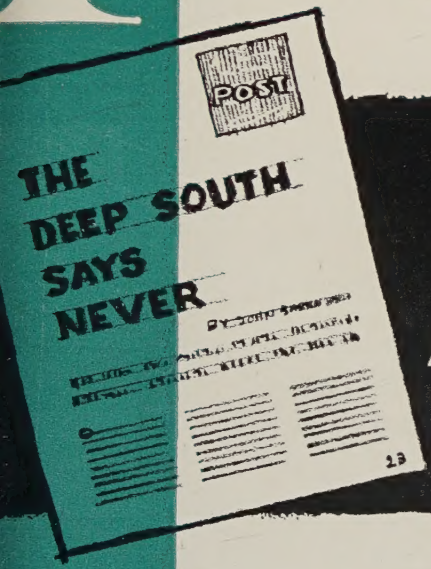
September 1957

Fellowship

Does the Deep South Really Say Never?



THERE IS ANOTHER SOUTH

COMMENTS BY EIGHT LEADING SOUTHERNERS ON THE SATURDAY EVENING POST ARTICLES

LILLIAN SMITH • HARRY GOLDEN
DAN WHITSETT • ROBERT GRAETZ
CARL LANDES • HAROLD WHITE
WILL CAMPBELL • L. H. PITTS

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30¢

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The WORLD in FOCUS

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South

When we had read John Bartlow Martin's *Saturday Evening Post* articles on the state of integration in the South ("The Deep South Says 'Never' "), we felt the need of having some response to it from people who know the South intimately. Because time was short, and it was summer, and perhaps because Mr. Martin's depressing report had its influence, we solicited eleven prospective writers, hoping to get three or four responses in time. Of the eleven, ten responded, eight of them with articles. This will explain why "There Is Another South" (see p. 3) is longer than the usual FELLOWSHIP article. It may also say something about Mr. Martin's contention that there is "virtually no white opposition to segregation" in the Deep South today.

"Clean"

It is hard to imagine how a word could have its meaning more grossly abused than in the use of the word "clean" applied to a hydrogen bomb. It is a mark of the insensitivity to which the human spirit can sink that scientists and military leaders should believe that they have somehow satisfied the growing world revulsion against these monstrous weapons by eliminating some of the fallout danger. Rather than 80 million, or 40, or 10, a single bomb now will kill only 30 million, or 10 or two—is this the

measure by which humanity copes with the abomination of wholesale murder?

Appropriate to the situation are some words that appeared in a recent issue of *The Nation*:[1]

"It is no longer a question of 'controlled fallout' or 'ironclad inspection' or any of the other futilities which pass for statesmanship; it is simply a question whether man deserves to go on living any longer on this planet with a sin like this on his soul."

Success!

From what we read, this year's version of the annual civil defense clambake was a huge success. One hundred American cities were "wiped completely off the map" leaving nothing but radioactive rubble. In Washington 189,000 people were killed, but President Eisenhower was successfully evacuated by helicopter to a prepared "command post," from which he managed to get to a golf course without encountering any Russians on the way.

In New York City, where everybody but the people takes these drills very seriously, 2,339,012 unfortunates were killed and 2,261,238 "seriously injured." (The fact that such precise figures could be published in the morning papers the very next day proves again how unjust it is to question the efficiency of the civil defense forces. Who else could count that many bodies that fast?[2])

And the nice thing about all this was that nobody got hurt, unless you count maybe the ten New York pacifists who were flung in the workhouse for thirty days for refusing to join in the fun.

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[1] July 6: "The Moral Deterrent" by James Avery Joyce.

[2] There *was* one little mistake in the first figure, which should have been 2,339,011, but this was not the CD people's fault at all. A fellow in the Bronx just pretended to be dead so he wouldn't have to take shelter.

THERE IS ANOTHER SOUTH

SOME COMMENTS ON THE SATURDAY EVENING POST'S SERIES, "THE DEEP SOUTH SAYS 'NEVER'"

BY

LILLIAN SMITH

HAROLD WHITE

WILL CAMPBELL

HARRY GOLDEN

ROBERT GRAETZ

DAN WHITSETT

CARL LANDES

L. H. PITTS

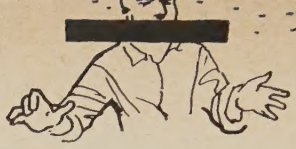
The POST Says—

In mid-June the **Saturday Evening Post** began publication of a series of five articles on the progress of racial integration under the title "The Deep South Says 'Never'."

Author of the articles was John Bartlow Martin, an Illinoisan previously noted for some excellent reportage on the subject of penology. His instructions, said the **Post,** "were simply, to report the truth—with special emphasis on the Deep South, where, we believe, the ultimate battle over integration may well be fought." Not uncharacteristically, the **Post** described the series as the "most exhaustive and penetrating look at the problems of integration yet published in an American periodical."

Author Martin left three major conclusions with his readers: (1) that there is virtually no white sentiment favorable to integration in the Deep South, (2) that the Klan and the White Citizens Councils are so strong as to control the situation, and (3) that in consequence of these and other facts there is no indication that integration will occur in the foreseeable future.

Fellowship asked a number of people who live and work in the South to comment on the Martin articles, and particularly on these points. We think it significant that these observations are not drawn from a relatively brief visit, but from the observations of those who live in the thick of the struggle.



THE PRICE OF SILENCE

BY LILLIAN SMITH

ONE of America's best-known writers, especially on matters of race, born in Georgia and a lifelong resident of that state, Lillian Smith has been studiously ignored by editors and reporters seeking news of the progress of integration in the South. Perhaps they do not want to hear a white Southerner say, as Miss Smith said in her letter agreeing to write for this issue: "The big fact is: segregation is loosening up and breaking up and disappearing every day. Tension is high; anxiety is widespread; but segregation is changing and people's minds are changing."

Lillian Smith, formerly the editor of South Today, has written Strange Fruit, Killers of the Dream, Now Is the Time, *and other works.*

WE ARE PAYING a high price indeed for the silence of the Southern people, for there *is* fear and there is too much silence. But we are paying a high price also for the silence in the North which is smothering the good things done and said every day by white southerners who oppose segregation.

What the reporter from the *Saturday Evening Post* did—and it reveals a shocking lapse of integrity and reportorial technique—was simply to omit the names of every white person in the Deep South who is working or speaking out or writing against segregation. (The two he mentioned as backsliders—Ralph McGill and William Faulkner—have never been opposed to segregation in the first place, so their backsliding was only a matter of inches.)

Now to omit the Southerners who are actively working, he had to shut his eyes tight and stuff his ears, for this omission covered hundreds of prominent ministers of almost every denomination; thousands of hardworking white church women, prominent in their communities; hundreds of college students; hundreds of college professors; thousands of social workers, health workers, and thousands working for Federal agencies; hundreds of prominent women active in the League of Women Voters; hundreds who are working quite openly against segregation in

the YWCA; hundreds of librarians; many among the Junior Chamber of Commerce; quite a few prominent lawyers; quite a few politicians (cautious but ready to move in the right direction); a few mayors; a few leaders on boards of education; a large number, perhaps a million, of G.I.s who accepted integration in the armed forces and will accept it quietly when it comes to their home town; and thousands of school teachers who want integration or are willing to accept it when it comes.

Perhaps the reporter does not know my name, for he did not interview me. And yet, would it not seem reasonable to expect a first-class reporter to know the name of the Georgia author whose books on human relations have been translated into more languages and have sold more in this country and throughout the world than those of any other writer—here or elsewhere—on this subject? He should, somehow, know that I speak frequently in the South to university groups, church groups, YWCA groups, interracial groups; and that my recent little book, *Now is the Time*, has been and is being used by many groups in the South working on this critical problem.

He should know Mrs. Dorothy Tilly's name, too. She is a well-known Methodist leader who has worked indefatigably on this problem of segregation.

It was his business to find not only two of us, but the many intelligent, experienced white Southerners who are making creative efforts to build public opinion and work out harmonious ways of meeting our ordeal.

Some of our people have been forced to work under cover. Governors, legislatures, White Citizens Councils have made this necessary. But no one should underestimate their influence, their usefulness or their numbers. If he had really been an alert reporter he would have written about the underground movement of democratic, Christian leaders who have been forced to do their work this way. But he found what he wanted to.

I am worried about the Southern silence; but I am worried more about the silence of our mass magazines and TV networks (their news coverage is good; their forums have not yet been opened to a white Southerner opposed to segregation). Since the Supreme Court decision, the South has been full of reporters from Northern papers, only one of whom has interviewed me. Other Southern leaders have told me they have not been interviewed. It is a dangerous thing for this distorted picture of the South to be built up: discouraging to Negroes and to the whites who need to know that there are hundreds of thousands working as hard as they are. This knowledge would give hope and stiffen resolution.

A Loss to Every American

I've been trying to decide which was costing all Americans the most, the monetary or psychological loss as a result of discrimination. But then, how can anyone measure what happens to a person when so treated? But I believe someone is suffering an untold loss . . . and I think it's every last one of us who call ourselves Americans.

—P. D. East in **The Petal Paper**, Petal, Mississippi, April 4, 1957

NEVER IS A LONG, LONG TIME

BY HAROLD WHITE

PRESBYTERIAN minister Harold White, formerly of Americus, Georgia, and now of Belvidere, N. C., writes: "I never had occasion to cross the line of social segregation until I ate a meal with white and Negro Boy Scout officials in Americus, Georgia, in 1946. Because we had a common aim, it seemed natural for us to eat together. It seems ironic now that Koinonia Farm should be boycotted by Americus people for integration in a common aim to promote Christian fellowship."

FOR ANYONE who has lived in the Deep South, as I have, the first reaction to the *Post* series is not, "Has the Deep South been correctly quoted?" We know how emphatically correct that "Never" is in summing up the dominant attitude to integration. The real question raised by the article is this: "Will the South's bite *always* be as bad as its bark?" Mr. Martin leaves the impression that the answer to this is "Yes."

He may be right; I have no crystal ball saying he is wrong. But "never" is a long, long time, and it is quite possible that the loud bark of Southern politicians merely seeks to hide that toothless feeling resulting from the extraction of teeth in the segregation laws.

The South is often dubbed by her critics as "the Bible Belt" as well as an area of benighted prejudice, but the fact is that the traditional loyalty of the South to the Bible may be its only hope for facing and solving its greatest social crisis of this century. Since its loyalty to the Bible is often mixed up with unbiblical superstitions, the South can reach a solution only if it recovers the Biblical wheat from the un-biblical chaff.

White people who fancy that the Bible supports racial segregation are deceived, but they are *not* guilty of racial prejudice merely because they insist that their children must not become close playmates with unsanitary or vulgar children, either white or Negro. If there are more of such children among Negroes than among whites one reason is the fact that Negro schools have long been unequal in equipment and training to white schools. To that the South must say, "Never again."

THE DEEP SOUTH SAYS "PRETTY SOON"

BY WILL D. CAMPBELL

FEW men have a better opportunity to assess the South than "Southern preacher" Will Campbell, whose more mouth-filling title is Associate Executive Secretary of the Department of Racial and Cultural Relations of the National Council of Churches. His office is in Nashville, Tennessee, but his parish is the whole South, "upper" and "Deep" alike. In this article, Mr. Campbell speaks, of course, for himself—not officially for the NCC.

IT IS INTERESTING and a bit amusing to hear people talk about the South. The Deep South says "Never!" according to John Bartlow Martin and the *Saturday Evening Post.* It is assumed that by South they mean the sweet Magnolia, mint-julep-sippin', veranda-sittin' dream South that still exists in the minds of some of us but is about as stable and predictable as a dream of any other variety.

This same element talks about the churches in the South. Dead! No witness here—silent. One can hear rumblings from the East of, "Shame, shame, the churches ought to do something!"

One thing needs to be understood. The never-saying South and the don't-rock-the-boat churches are not so relevant at this juncture as they are generally assumed to be. In any revolution there are those revolting and those being revolted against. Nobody ever blamed the Archbishop of Canterbury for not being chaplain to George Washington's troops. But the difference didn't lie with the Archbishop. Washington had his own chaplain and the Archbishop was as relevant to the situation as a cat in calculus.

The same thing might be said of the White Citizens Councils and the Klans. While certainly not totally irrelevant, these institutions now have as their role not action so much as reaction or at best interaction. They have not chosen this role, but it has been assigned. They have been assigned it by another South and other churches.

The other South? Forty-five thousand people walking down the streets in Montgomery, Alabama. A mass meeting in New Orleans. A boycott in Orangeburg, South Carolina. A college walk-out at Alcorn, Mississippi. Voting clinics springing up all over. The Southern Leaders Conference. "A statement to the South and Nation." Messages (not manifestoes) to nationally elected officials—all these are the South, too. And this South *doesn't*

say never. It says *now*—or at least pretty soon!

And the "dead" churches in this South? They sing hymns, gather in church meeting-houses, pray for those who exploit them and deny them their rights, turn the other cheek, don't strike back. Is this familiar? If it isn't, the Bible Belt had better buckle on the New Testament. The churches, far from being dead in the South, are alive as never before. For God doesn't live in a plantation house, and Jesus Christ didn't say "On this white rock I'll build my church." Part of the body may be sick but another part is strong and healthy.

It has been assumed for many generations that rights would be granted to the Negro minority of the South when the mind of the white man was educated to it and when his heart was conditioned properly by preaching and exhortation. But if the back-seat bus riders had waited for this process they would have died of old age at the bus stop.

This South didn't wait, and those who say "Never" had nothing to do with it. Although they are trying hard now to have something to do with the outcome, the success they are having isn't too impressive, and more of their South than is generally known is saying, "Who cares? Let them ride."

In another city the churches of the never-saying South, worshipping at the shrine of harmony, preferred for the most part not to discuss "that ole race thing." It was messy and people got upset and it would surely split churches and preachers would get fired and some of the best members would quit giving and just all sorts of things unbecoming to a church with a Standard of Excellence banner hanging on the wall for the most daily Bible readers.

But on a given week the word got around town that there would be Negroes attempting to worship in white church houses next Sunday. As a result dozens of churches discussed the issue frankly and honestly. Without this most of them would not have done so for another generation. Some decided to seat them as anyone else. Others voted to direct them to the nearest Negro church. But the point is that while they didn't act on their own they had no choice but to react to a situation which would not have occurred under the assumption that hearts and minds have to be changed before a beginning can be made.

The South says "never"? Well, yes. But the South also says "pretty soon." And this South has some rather important factors on its side. Among other things it has a method for this revolution which the South being revolted against can't understand very well. Because to most people it is an unfamiliar weapon, nonviolent resistance is usually ruled out. (Besides it's so confusing after all the accumulated stories about "you can't buy a gun or a switchblade knife any more—they're all stacked up in the quarters.")

As figures of speech there might have been a time when the South could be divided into the veranda-sitters and the cotton-pickers. If so, whoever said, "The cottonpickin' South will rise again," was right. The veranda is rotten and the mint is wilting along the garden walk. The cottonpickin' South has risen indeed.

THE BIGOTS ARE MAKING THE NOISE

BY HARRY L. GOLDEN

AMERICAN newspapers, by and large, are distinguished in these days neither for their independence nor for their literateness. Their front pages represent a search for the sensational; their editorial pages could be—and sometimes are—poured from the molds of the NAM. One of the rare oases in this desert of mediocrity is Harry Golden's paper, THE CAROLINA ISRAELITE, published in Charlotte, North Carolina. Equally at home in reflections on the classics, recollections of a childhood home, or strictures on the racist antics of his neighbors, Golden's essays are collector's items.

THERE IS TRUTH in all of Mr. Martin's observations, but I am sure he would be the first to agree that you cannot "wrap up" this desegregation story in five weeks and in five articles. In a previous decade a similar story of "the South" was told (by Southern boys, by the way) in terms of a *Tobacco Road* in Georgia, and a bit of incest in Mississippi. But just as there was no particularly unique *southern way of life* then, there is no *southern viewpoint* today, not even in the matter of racial segregation.

The South is many things: a cotton patch and a hydrogen-bomb plant, which tells part of our story. The South is Senator Sam Ervin (N. C.), who fights against "civil rights" legislation, and Tom Lassiter, editor of the Smithfield, (N. C.) *Herald,* who writes weekly editorials urging compliance with the Supreme Court decisions. The South is Governor Hodges (N. C.), who urges the Negroes to accept "voluntary" segregation, and playwright Paul Green (*The Lost Colony*), who publicly broke with the Governor for "lacking the imagination to go forward and end racial segregation." The South is Senator Eastland, the champion of the "White Citizens Councils," and the city of Charlotte, North Carolina (160,000), where the directors of the "white supremacy" group spent two days vainly trying to get a civic leader or public official to introduce Senator Eastland at their scheduled meeting.

The South is many voices, some strident, some calm. At present the bigots are making the most noise. But there are thousands of South-

erners who know that racial segregation can no longer be tolerated on any religious, moral, and legal basis. And on an economic basis, segregation is impossible to maintain. I know a fellow in South Carolina who is head of his local White Citizens Council, and who has also performed an outstanding job in bringing new industry to his state in recent years. He does not yet realize that at lunchtime, when he negotiates for this new industry, he is doing more to end racial segregation than all the NAACPs put together. His efforts at night to maintain segregation are part of the South's last shudder to hang on to a dream of the old plantation in a world full of cogwheels, a day-to-day industrialization without parallel in the history of our country. The dream is of a pleasant time when the house stood up on the hill and the smoke came out of the chimney at twilight. But today the diesel truck goes up that hill and it doesn't care who drives it.

As to Mr. Martin's prediction that desegregation is unthinkable in any foreseeable future, I prefer to get out on my own limb: (a) that the three largest cities of North Carolina will desegregate the schools this year*; (b) that all other Southern cities of 40,000 and over will desegregate the schools within five years; and (c) that the rest of the South will follow during this generation, after it will have seen that *nothing happened*—nothing happened except greater pride, greater wealth, and greater human dignity. And I base my opinion on a conviction that thousands of Southerners in every walk of life agree with Burke that, "All that is required for evil to triumph is that good men do nothing."

* Since Mr. Golden wrote this, Charlotte, Winston-Salem and Greensboro announced the beginning of desegregation of their schools.

The Voice of God and the Verdict of History

. . . The Christian is obligated to accept and follow the teachings of Christ with respect to the dignity and worth of every individual, irrespective of his race or position in human society. Any movement, system or law that denies this truth by statement, implication or social practice is not in accord with the teachings of Jesus nor the principles of our Christian faith.

In accordance with these teachings, this Commission protests the violence in all its forms that is used against Negro people in the current segregation issue or at any other time. In recognition of the Negro's rights as a citizen, the law enforcement agencies of local, state and national governments should protect him, irrespective of his position or culture, from lawless attacks on his person or property.

We are witnessing today the betrayal of [our] freedoms by vocal minorities in some communities and churches who are able to arouse sufficient opposition to force the resignation of pastors and to incite retaliation against peaceful citizens who speak or act according to their convictions on racial justice and interracial goodwill. The people of our nation should be reminded that both the voice of God and the verdict of history warn us that those who deny these freedoms to others do not long retain them for themselves.

—from the report of the Christian Life Commission, Southern Baptist Convention

May 1957

THE SOUTH'S OTHER ARMY

BY ROBERT GRAETZ

PASTOR of Trinity Lutheran Church (Negro) in Montgomery, Alabama, the Rev. Robert Graetz (white) played a vital role in the widely publicized nonviolent struggle against segregated buses in that city. Twice bombed, Mr. Graetz planted a tree in the bomb crater on his front lawn and reminded those who came to its dedication that "while in the midst of life there is death, so in the midst of death there is life."

JOHN BARTLOW MARTIN'S analysis of resistance in the Deep South is startling, and appears to be correct—as far as he has gone. For after all, the very title of his articles, "The Deep South Says 'Never,'" indicates that this is essentially a description of the Segregation Army.

Neglected were both the Integration Army and that group of unknown size that fights on neither side, whose battle-cry is "Silence is golden." An analysis of either of these latter groups would be a Herculean task. The segregation forces have impressed on the Deep South a rigid system of fascist thought-control, so much so that men have lost their jobs because of chance remarks made to personal "friends."

As we look beyond the massive bulwarks erected by the Citizens Councils and the Klans, however, we can see several factors operating from within which will bring about the eventual defeat of segregation. Martin could scarcely have learned about these from his conversations with segregationist leaders; these factors are mostly beyond their understanding. I can see six forces at work. There may be many more.

(1) *The high cost of maintaining segregation.* Talk is cheap, but when the bus company in Montgomery, Alabama, was losing thousands of dollars during the boycott, the trickle of cash gifts from sympathizers was unimpressive. My home state of West Virginia was quick to announce to its taxpayers that they had saved a substantial sum of money by integrating the public schools. Many Citizens Council members in Alabama have set out to save themselves some money too, simply by not renewing their memberships.

(2) *Defeatism on the part of many segregation leaders.* Naturally no Council leader in his right mind would tell a reporter all his troubles. But a man with troubles has to tell someone. Once in a while these men will confide, un-

knowingly, in some of our leaders in the integration movement. Many such conversations have been reported, indicating that local Council leaders are losing much of the grass-roots support which they had during the times of great crisis. They admit that they are fighting a losing battle, that the so-called "Solid South" is fast shrinking. In our state they are even more frightened by the ominous clouds gathering on the horizon, of Negroes preparing to register and vote. Politicians who have been riding the back of the race issue know there is stormy weather ahead.

(3) *The disturbed conscience of the Southern white liberal.* A man has to live with himself and his God, even if he can't get along with his neighbors. Scarcely a day goes by that I do not meet or hear of another white liberal. And every one of them tells me the same thing: "You don't realize how many people there are who feel just like I do."

Why have we not heard from them? Because they have been intimidated; their jobs have been threatened, or their lives. But they cannot maintain both their principles and their silence forever. Christian ministers are beginning to realize this. You can expect to hear more and more men of the cloth raising their voices in defense of freedom and justice. Some of them may lose their jobs, but that is a cheap enough price to pay for an unshackled conscience.

(4) *Unadvertised integrationist groups.* The Councils on Human Relations, FOR groups, and others like them are generally small and weak, but they are growing in size and influence. This is the leaven that is working quietly but effectively throughout the South. These are the construction battalions building bridges, establishing lines of communication, preparing the way for those who are to follow.

(5) *The power of Christian love and nonviolence.* The buses of Montgomery, Alabama, are integrated now. The Negroes of that city carried on their campaign with dignity and in the spirit of Christ. They learned to love those who hated them, to pray for those who cursed them. They learned that it is the weak man who uses hatred and violence; it is the strong man who remains at peace and relies on spiritual force alone. It is this philosophy which characterizes the movement for freedom among Negroes throughout the South. There is no defense against Christian love. It cannot be defeated.

(6) *The will of the Almighty God.* The Lord said to the Pharaoh of Egypt, "Let my people go," and He led them forth to the promised land. It is my conviction that God speaks the same to our modern Pharaohs, and that He is about to lead the Negroes out of their bondage. If this is indeed God's will, no man can stand in His way.

Brotherhood or Bigotry

It is commonly understood . . . that all men are created in the image of God and intended to be brothers. If you consider this an impracticable doctrine, then you may very well have to surrender your Christian faith. The Church has little else to offer.

—The Rev. Hugh McKee, Rector
St. Martin's Episcopal Church
New Orleans, Louisiana

THE KLAN HAS SPENT ITSELF

BY DAN WHITSETT

FOR member and minister of the First Methodist Church of Sylacauga, Alabama, the Rev. Dan Whitsett writes of the Klan from first-hand contact. Shortly before Easter the night-riders burned a cross on the Whitsett lawn, and anonymous callers threatened the lives of his associate minister's family. That Sunday Dan Whitsett talked to his congregation, and as a result lighted crosses blazed all during Holy Week, on almost thirty Sylacauga lawns, placed there to remind passers-by that the Cross speaks not for hatred and violence, but for love and forgiveness.

THE KU KLUX KLAN has spent itself in Alabama. There is nothing worse it can do without being driven from the state. Alabamans generally do not believe in integration, but they will no longer tolerate violence, intimidation, and usurpation of the law by this hooded mob.

In our state the Klan gained some respectability by having a so-called minister head the organization. "Preachers" would tell how God's Holy Word forbade the mixing of races; "women's auxiliaries" took baskets to the sick; the Klan "assisted" an aged Negro; Klansmen marched down the aisle of a few rural churches and left a few dollars offering. The silence of the public was interpreted as sanction of its motives and methods.

But then members of the Klan burned crosses and organized telephone committees to harass anyone who spoke against them. From their meetings, individuals went out to bomb Negro homes or churches and to commit other acts of violence which the group meetings would inspire but disclaim as an organization.

Mobile was the first city to take action against the lawlessness of the Klan with an ordinance forbidding the burning of crosses and rewards for the apprehension of anyone violating the ordinance or dynamiting houses. The violence ceased immediately.

The Reverend Alvin Horn, grand dragon of the U.S. Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, Inc., who ran off with a fifteen-year old girl, appeared on June 8 at a State Rally held in Sylacauga. Members paraded il-

legally and burned crosses at the First Methodist and First Baptist churches. An anonymous death threat was made that night to the wife of my associate minister.

Public reaction was immediate. The interdenominational Ministerial Association, the City Council, and most of the newspapers in the state called for the apprehension and prosecution of the perpetrators of these vicious acts. Alvin Horn resigned as State head of the Klan.

The local Klan offered public apologies to both churches and the City Council. It disavowed any authorization of either the cross-burnings or the threatening calls. It urged enforcement of the city's new ordinance against burning of crosses.

The Klan should be assured the right of peaceable assembly and free speech, but not license to violate the rights of other citizens and the laws of our State. When it sees that clergymen will not be intimidated or cowed, that right-thinking people will not tolerate violence, join in mob action or be guided by ignorant and prejudiced leaders—then the Klan will cease to exist except as an ineffectual organization for a few fanatics to meet and rant and rave. A few scattered incidents of the night riders still will take place, but I do not believe the Klan as an organization will ever again be accepted in our State.

Problems in human relations remain to be solved. A small but ever-increasing number of respected citizens realize that we are going to live under our Constitution and eventually by the high Christian and ethical standards of our Christian churches. Slowly but resolutely groups are meeting biracially to pray and plan, not only for coexistence but also for unanimity of purpose, equal opportunities, and joint responsibilities in a Christian society.

An Experience in Worship

Within the bounds of our own Assembly there exists a flagrant violation of the right to worship. Members of the Koinonia community near Americus, Georgia, state that their communal life is not primarily a social or agricultural experiment but an experience in worship. They have professed their allegiance to this nation, they have denied affiliation in any subversive party, they have violated no laws, they have been model citizens, and have made a significant contribution to farming techniques in this area. Yet because their experiment knows no barrier of color they are treated as enemies of society. Their property has been strafed, dynamited, and burned; their children maligned, their lives jeopardized. Even worse, many respectable citizens of the community have joined in an economic boycott designed to destroy their financial stability and drive them to ruin.

The General Assembly would call the attention of Protestants in America to the danger of trying to destroy those who dare to live by their convictions, even though they may differ from them in their opinions. If these persecutors persist, then let them now appoint their children who shall some day build the sepulchers to the prophets they have stoned.

—from **Freedom—the Christian Concept,**
Christian Relations Report
of the 97th General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church, U.S. (Southern)
April 1957, Birmingham, Alabama

CHANGE IS THE ORDER OF THE DAY

BY CARL LANDES

CARL LANDES, Southern born and bred, was once an FOR staff member, doing rural work. Today he teaches in an Alabama College.

WHEN "CHANGE" is the order of the day, and "revolution" is met by "counter-revolution," one is apt to wonder frequently with Benjamin Franklin whether the sun is "rising" or "setting." Current magazine and newspaper stories seem to indicate that the sun of brotherhood is setting, at least in the "Deep South," and that positive forces working for justice and brotherhood of the races have been driven to cover.

There is enough truth in such statements to make many of us who were born and raised in the South feel humble and penitent. Yet there ought not be a monopoly on penitence in Dixie. A New York Negro leader speaking in Nashville recently said, "This is not a Southern problem, this is a national and world problem. The North may be a bit more subtle, but—," and he gave a long list of evidence to substantiate his case.

As I see it, most whites in the "Deep South" fall into four main groups:

(1) There are the "one hundred percenters": segregationists to the last ditch, White Citizens Council members, KKK, etc. The Constitution and the Bible are their "foundation stones." There are many educated (?) in this group, but as one attends their rallies, one gets the impression that the bulk of the membership is drawn from low-income, uneducated groups.

At the moment, this group has the limelight because it does things that make two- and three-inch headline news stories. It will use any type of violence it deems necessary to gain its ends, including dynamite and murder. I could be mistaken, but I believe it is riding its crest, since the vast majority of the population is opposed to its violence, especially business forces who are trying to lure industry south, but also many of the rank-and-file citizens.

(2) There is a larger group who would like to see segregation continued, but (in the recent words of a banker) "don't want anything to do with the White Citizens Councils." They have had the pattern of segregation drilled into them from birth, as have many Negroes.

This group has never before seriously thought about the ethics

of segregation or its relationship to the Christian faith. But when you are put in the position where you must defend an injustice inherited from your parents and the past, you have to think. When you think, God has a chance to get in a few thoughts you hadn't intended: "Suppose the tables were turned, and whites were the objects of discrimination?" Like Saul of Tarsus, many suddenly discover that they can no longer "kick against the pricks." Saul didn't plan it that way either, but it happened. Some are actually beginning to realize that we live in a "colored" world, and that the "colored" people are rapidly rising to power, and so they flounder on the threshold of the back door to brotherhood: self-preservation of the white race.

(3) A third group—growing, I think—is well characterized by a minister: "I know integration is coming. It probably should have come a long time ago, but this is a new idea to many of us. Give us time." (I know he has had a century, but no one has seriously tried to give him any idea besides segregation before.)

Or, like the woman whose daughter I tried to get to our college: "Does your college believe in integration?" And, on being told that it was the policy of the trustees, the denomination and the administration, "Then my daughter will go elsewhere. I know integration is coming, but I feel too deeply about this to help it along."

The violence of the White Citizens Councils, and the marvelous spirit of love and nonviolence of the vast majority of our Negro brethren, will move this group closer to the position of justice, integration and brotherhood. It won't happen overnight, but as one moves around down here, one senses it rather frequently.

(4) There is a sizable minority who know that integration and equality are right, ought to come, must come—and they are working at it. This group is probably overloaded with ministers, educators, and students, but there are increasing numbers of lay people, inside the church and out, who are coming to this position.

It is impossible to know the number, because they work under considerable pressure. Many of their activities must be without publicity, or they would lose their jobs, or find a bomb "in the right place."

Is the sun "rising" or "setting" on Dixie? I believe it is rising, but we may not yet have passed that "darkest moment before dawn." Things may get worse before they get better, but right now I'd rather be in the heart of Dixie than anywhere in the world. We are moving; and the Great Engineer can always switch a moving engine.

Sign of the Times. On one of the main routes through the South, this unexpected invitation by a Virginia motel startles hundreds of drivers daily. Owner Ralph Grimes, a former Philadelphian, explains breezily: **"Somebody** has to set these Virginians straight." Trouble? None. Business? Fine—two new buildings are under construction. Photo by Alfred Hassler.

ANOTHER SOUT

DEEP IN THE HEART OF DIXIE

BY L. H. PITTS

THE Rev. L. H. Pitts is executive secretary of the Georgia Teachers and Education Association (Negro), with offices in Atlanta, Georgia.

MR. MARTIN'S APPRAISALS of the strength of the Citizens Council and the Klan are both fairly accurate. Who could have believed that intelligent men would find themselves taking pride in sounding like men from the Dark Ages? The men who lead the Citizens Councils and the Klan are no longer the unintelligent, rabble-rousing, traditional Southerners, but are almost statesmanlike in appearance and expression. This alone has got them a wider forum and is gaining sympathy for the cause they espouse.

Nevertheless, I think Mr. Martin is wrong when he suggests that they seem likely to control the situation indefinitely, with or without violence. From extensive travel and many contacts in Georgia and throughout the South, I am convinced that there is a growing resistance to the kind of intolerance and injustice represented by the utterances of these groups. Statements by Southern church groups and educators suggest that the spirit of fair play and good will is having a rebirth in the South. To say that "There is virtually no white opposition to segregation and if any exists it has been silenced," is a gross overstatement. There are white people in Georgia who are working day and night in opposition to what segregation intends, people who believe in the right of all men to human dignity. Without fanfare of publicity they have strung up a veritable network of lines of communication between people and groups breaking over denominational, racial and cultural lines.

There are many groups in the South meeting regularly and working openly for desegregation. They do not get the publicity that the Councils and the Klan do, partly because they recognize that the

process is an educational one. But if the Councils and the Klan knew of the spiritual and social revolution going on right in their own communities, and in some cases in their own homes, they would be shaken to the core.

Within ten minutes of my home is an institution with a desegregated student body. My own alma mater, Paine College, in Augusta, Georgia, recently passed a resolution to desegregate its student body. White Georgia teachers and administrators voted for a resolution supporting desegregation, at the recent meeting of the National Education Association.

The South must have some spiritual and social engineers who will come up with new and daring techniques, compelling enough, sincere enough, calm enough, and with love enough that it cannot be lightly passed over. When such leadership is developed the sensitive conscience of the South will be so alerted that the response will be astounding, and "deep in the heart of Dixie" will blossom the kind of community in which a man can walk erect and look his brother man in the eye.

Circulation 4,000,000 plus

That's not **Fellowship's** circulation. It's the number of homes into which the **Saturday Evening Post** goes weekly; the number of homes into which the articles "The Deep South Says 'Never'" found their way.

There is no means by which we can get this issue of **Fellowship** into all those homes, but you **can** help circulate the "other side of the story" as told by Lillian Smith and the other writers of **There Is Another South.** Use any of these methods:

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FELLOWSHIP

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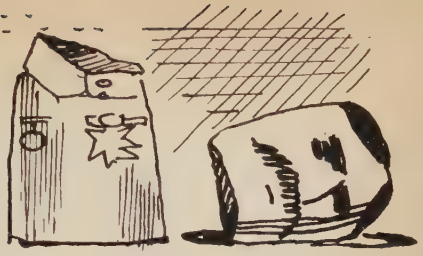
A Negro Speaks in Richmond

I heard the Rev. Martin Luther King Jr. preach to about two thousand Negroes and about one hundred white people in the Virginia Union University auditorium in Richmond.

The famous apostle of nonviolence and of the gentle approach to prejudice preached a deeply inspiring sermon.

He quoted Plato and Aristotle and John Donne, as well as Biblical sources, with natural relevance and ease. . . . There were apparently no scoffers present, but if anyone came to scoff, he must have remained to pray. —from "Virginia Affairs" column by Benjamin Muse, The Washington Post & Times Herald, April 14, 1957

POLAND AFTER POZNAN



BY SID LENS

WARSAW

AN AMERICAN BUSINESSMAN asked me to introduce him to a Communist. "You know," he said, "I've never met a Communist."

The Communist I introduced him to was a young Polish scientist, who was married and had two children. He earned about $100 a month, lived with his whole family in a one-room apartment typical of conditions in Poland today, and had recently been denied a passport to go abroad even though a relative in the United States had offered to pay all expenses in dollars.

After a half hour my American friend returned, a bit suspicious that I had deceived him:

"Are you sure he's a Communist?"

"Of course. He's a Party member."

"Well, he doesn't talk like a Communist."

That was true. But how many Party members do talk like Communists in the Iron Curtain countries, particularly when they are free to talk and when you gain their confidence? The best estimate I heard from a Communist leader in Poland was that there were 30 percent real Communists among the Party members. Even that small percentage is a gross exaggeration. You have to go along way before you find someone who will defend the Party "line" without basic reservations.

The fact is that human beings are human beings everywhere, and the stereotyped notion of a "Communist" which we have in the United States neither helps to explain Communism nor to combat it effectively. A Communist, in our thinking, is a pure automaton, of iron determination, who works day and night to do the Party's will, who closes his eyes to all injustice and who is ready to commit any kind of horror to "serve the ultimate goal of Communism."

Such people, of course, just don't

exist on any kind of grand scale. Communism—more properly, Stalinism—is something that creeps up on people and slowly subverts their decent emotions, but it never fully enslaves them. We in America make a terrible mistake when we make a pariah of the individual Communist. Karl Marx once claimed that "capitalism creates its own gravediggers." This is at least equally true of Stalinism. The facts that soon become apparent in a Stalinist country like Poland, particularly when it is shifting away from Stalinism and people are talking, are the overwhelming fear that the Communist Party itself has of its own people, and the vast destruction of personal initiative.

Legacy of Hatred

The two, of course, go together, and their end result is simmering hatred. After all, in Poland there are 1,300,000 Party members—one for every twenty people, and if you exclude young children and old pensioners, perhaps one for every twelve or fifteen. Each of these 1,300,000—except for a few at the top—has been stung by the system, or has a friend who has been stung by it. Tens of thousands have spent time in prison. Before Gomulka's rise to power, almost ten percent of the coal miners were prisoners. These men were often arrested for no reason or for minor insults to the state. They were held for as long as eight years without trial, often without knowing what they were charged with. A small number—it is difficult to find out how many—were executed without so much as a day in court. After the Poznan riots in June 1956, about 100 soldiers were court-martialed and shot for going over to the side of the workers.

Everyone, including Communists, lived in the fear that tomorrow it might be his turn to go to jail. If you had a friend who was questioned by the UB (secret police), you could not rest easily because you yourself might be picked up a week later as a "follow-up."

A Typical Case

A man who had been in one of the Stalinist prisons the better part of a decade describes in simple terms what happens to the human psyche in the process:

"Once the cell door closes on you, you know that there no longer is any hope. It isn't like Britain or America, where you can expect your wife or friends to take some action on your behalf. Here your only hope is through the man who interrogates you. He can make or break you, have you shot or keep you alive, torture you or leave you alone. His is the absolute power, the only power you can appreciate. And unless you have an iron will or a deep faith, you soon find yourself groveling before him, trying to win minor favors.

"Can you imagine what it means to go three or four weeks with only an hour or two of sleep each day, constantly kept awake? Or to languish in solitary confinement for weeks or months, living in your own excrement, never knowing whether you will ever see the sun again?

"In the first four years I was in prison I slept on a straw mattress on the floor, in an area six feet square. I never once took any exercise or walked outside. Later we were permitted a daily fifteen-

minute walk in the air, and finally for half an hour."

Thousands of such tales are being told today by Gomulka and his closest followers, all of whom spent time in Stalinist jails, as well as by a considerable number of lesser Communists.

Even this, however, does not measure the antipathy created by Stalinism among members of its own Party. Nothing so distinguished the Stalinist systems as its complete fear of letting anyone use his own initiative. The remnants of this method still exist in Poland today and they are as strange and abnormal as anything I have ever seen.

Under Stalinism the director of a factory is a glorified office-boy. He can do nothing but what is worked out for him in the minutest detail in the Plan. He cannot pay an engineer one *zloty* more than the plan permits, even if he needs the man desperately. Wage scales, prices, trade policy are all worked out by the Plan.

If the roof falls off the factory, and if the emergency fund allowed by the Plan is exhausted, the director has to go to excruciating lengths to get it fixed. The bank has no power to give him the needed sum, because it is not in the Plan.

The manager of a state-owned clothing store told me that the Plan first envisaged sales of 500,000 *zloty* a month, then boosted it to a million and finally to 1,500,000. He received a bonus over his $50 a month wage only if he exceeded this quota. He could still double the business, he said, if he were permitted to send out salesmen to buy quality goods from private craftsmen, but there is no such provision in the Plan and so he does not do it. Further, he can not earn beyond $100 or $125 a month anyway, so why should he exercise his initiative?

The owner of a Warsaw apartment with twelve apartments, which cost $75,000 to build in 1937, receives *three dollars a month* as his share of the rent. The state did not confiscate such buildings, but it set low rentals and allotted the various sums meticulously for water, tax and other items, leaving a stipulated one or two percent profit for the owner. In the same twelve apartments there are now 32 families. Of these, none has more than one room and most have to share kitchens and toilets with others. On three dollars a month the landlord cannot repair the building. The tenants don't do much repairing either, and the state does none. The result is that what was once a luxury building is now a battered slum that smells in the hallways from the disrepair to its plumbing system.

I have never seen anywhere a lack of maintenance as pathetic as in Poland; and I was told that in Russia it is even worse. No one who works for the state is interested in the state or its rigid rules.

The state was not interested in the people, either: it concentrated its investments in heavy-goods industries rather than consumer goods, forcing the people to grub for every little item. In turn, the

people devoted a very considerable portion of their initiative to trying to "beat" the state. And beat it, of course, they did—and do. Corruption, bribery and speculation are shocking. This corruption runs from the salesgirl in the grocery store to the bigshot in the government.

Resistance By Chiseling

At the Poznan Fair this year, a foreign firm made a deal to sell $5 million worth of merchandise to a Polish ministry. The Pole in charge of this deal agreed to everything but one item: he wanted the sale made through an intermediary firm, rather than direct. "But," complained the foreign seller, "I'll have to raise the price." That was perfectly all right, he was told. Unfortunately the capitalist seller refused to agree to this bit of chicanery, by which the official would undoubtedly get a rake-off deposited in some Swiss or other neutral bank. But it is odd that the capitalist in this case had more morality, or fear, than the "Communist."

Such things happen in Stalinist countries, and not just once or episodically. Whenever a sale is made by a state firm to a private artisan, there is usually a "commission" that goes with it. Or when a state inspector inspects a private building there is often a "tip" that changes hands before the final stamp is placed on the construction license.

At the lower levels, the girl who sells in the stores often has a deal with a black-marketeer by which she permits him to buy up those items in short supply and sell them at double or quadruple the state price. A few weeks ago, this practice was so flagrant that black-marketeers were selling in the very store from which they bought, without even bothering to be secret about it. Store managers were selling key saleslady jobs to speculators for $400 to $1,600 each.

At the Cieuhy market place in Warsaw you see hundreds of scarce items that undoubtedly belong to the state. Hard-pressed workers or technicians put them in their pockets and sell them to free-market dealers who in turn sell them here.

The Survival of Decency

Thievery and corruption are one answer that the individual gives to the state when he is deprived of the use of his initiative; the other is hatred—slow, simmering hatred. I met a number of prewar Communist Party members who are not only no longer in the Party, but are more or less openly hostile to it. I also met literally scores of members of the intelligentsia who, now that they can speak openly, express their doubts. A man who did a particularly heroic thing last October—I do not want to identify him—told me: "I kept quiet for years and years, refusing to help people I should have helped because I knew it would be the end if I did. But when I took this step I felt I just had to do it even if I would be shot. There just is a limit beyond which you can't go."

In the worst days of Stalinism in 1952, a professor who was effectively muzzled used to hold political meetings of twelve to fifteen of his students every week in his private home. One of these men, a Communist Party member, was a leader of the "October Revolution." A young student who refus-

ed to join the Communist professors secretly helped him when Communist students were taking steps to have him thrown out of the university.

The spirit of decency, from all reports, was never completely or even substantially wiped out. The Communist regime, egged on by the Russians, refused to permit its people even a modicum of free movement, or free exercise of initiative. But it was repaid for this totalitarianism by an accumulated storehouse of hatred that showed itself in thousands of tiny events like those I have listed, both of an anti-social and a social nature. Stalinism itself had no mass base; it could not, I am sure, command a majority even among Party members. So many honest Communists admit this now that there can be no doubt on this score. And if you check carefully the whole line of march of Gomulka since October 1956, it is obvious that this is precisely what he is trying to do: win over his own Party members to really support the Communist Party.

All of this suggests that a Stalinist dictatorship is less than total, that there are always fissures in the ranks, always simmering hatreds, and above all that the dictatorship is foisted on people in stages rather than all at once.

In Poland those stages are now clearly visible in retrospect. There was first the period from 1945 to 1948 when the Russians fought to silence the opposition, and when there was still a certain amount of freedom. In this period opposition parties, greatly clipped, nonetheless continued to exist. Second, there was the period from 1948 to 1953, a period of total Stalinism, arrests, terror, monolithicism. Third, there was the period from 1954 to 1956, when the liberal and more decent elements slowly began to fight back to reverse the tide. In this period, articles began obliquely to attack the state, young students began to speak openly of "Russian imperialism," and the like. Finally, beginning with the Poznan riots and October, the liberal elements under Gomulka have gained the ascendancy and are now attempting to destroy Stalinism.

Stalin's Greatest Weapon

The point is that there are people, not automatons, behind the Iron Curtain. And though there are great lengths to which they can be pushed by secret police terror and by fear, there are also—as life is now proving—certain limits. Our foreign policy, unfortunately, has been unconcerned with the people. We have written them off as potential allies, even when Mr. Dulles was shouting at a high pitch about "liberation." In fact we gave Stalin his greatest weapon for keeping his people in check: fear of war. Our militarily oriented foreign policy was probably a life-saver to Stalin, because it made it pos-

sible for him to neutralize opposition within his Party ranks and in the satellites. He could come to the doubters and say: "You see, the Americans have 950 bases surrounding us. There is danger of war, and we must therefore maintain this monolithic discipline."

This was no paltry weapon in Stalin's hands and in the hands of his successors. The people in this part of the world have suffered from war in a way that we Americans can hardly imagine. I visited a spot in Krakow, for instance, where in one day 60,000 people were forced to dig their own graves and were mowed down by machine guns. Today, twelve years later, I could still pick up hundreds of empty shell cases left by this massacre. Seven million people—one-fifth of the population—died in the war carnage and $80 billion of property was destroyed. In the Warsaw uprising alone, 200,000 perished. In one day I met two widows who had stood helplessly on the other side of the Vistula River while their men were fighting on this side and being exterminated. Millions of people in Poland can recount such tragedies. And in Russia, I'm told, there were 27 million deaths. With such a legacy of horror, it is small wonder that articulate men and women kept quiet longer than they might otherwise, because of an intense fear of a new war. It was this fear that the Stalinists capitalized on to stay in power as long as they did.

What the U. S. Could Do

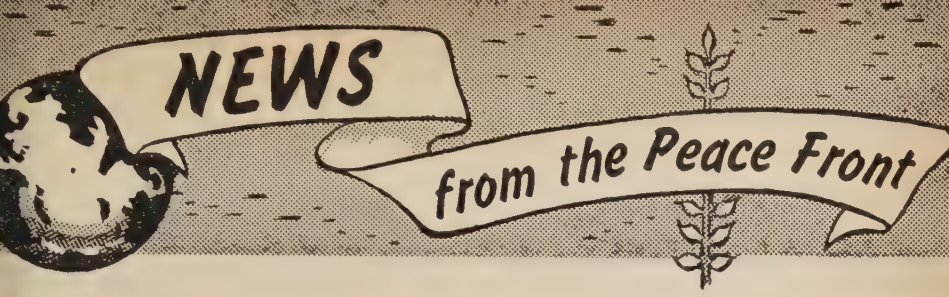
Reorientation of American policy away from militarism can decisively affect the situation within the Communist lands. It can give courage to the intelligentsia. the youth and the working class. It can deprive Khrushchev and his underlings of one of their most potent weapons. Adroitly exploited, the relaxation of tensions can weaken Stalinism dramatically, as our military preparations have been incapable of doing. After all, Hungary proved how silly was the Dulles policy of "liberation" through military strength. At the strategic moment we were helpless to do anything. On the other hand, a non-militarist Western policy will make it possible for the people in Iron Curtain countries themselves—as they have begun to do in Poland—to jettison Stalinism from within.

The Communist world is, after all, composed of human beings. And those human beings laugh, shout, hurt, bleed, exult—and cry.

Thoughts Between Wars

No thoughtful man will fail to recognize that with the development of modern science, another war may blast the whole of mankind to perdition. . . . The renunciation of war is the way, and the only way, to security.

—General Douglas MacArthur, 1946



FOR Leaders Confer With Japanese Premier

On June 25 at the Waldorf-Astoria Hotel in New York, four representatives of the FOR had a 20-minute interview with Prime Minister Nobusuke Kishi of Japan. Speaking for the FOR were two former national chairmen, Charles W. Iglehart and John Nevin Sayre, present National Chairman Charles R. Lawrence and Acting Executive Secretary Alfred Hassler.

The Japanese Premier, who was here on a state visit, was presented with a memorandum from the Fellowship urging Japan to continue its "moral leadership in the crusade for peace," and characterizing the Japanese Constitution as "an outstanding example for world peace." The Japanese Constitution specifically renounces war, armaments, "war potential" and the right of belligerence.

Whitsun Conference Forges East-West Link

In Vienna on June 8-11, during the Whitsun holidays, a conference was held with participation of eleven young Polish Christians and a number of leading FOR people from France, Austria and the Netherlands.

Hildegard Mayr, who maintains the Schattengasse Center of the FOR in Austria, reported that the series of discussions and the day-to-day fellowship with the Polish youths "has not only established deeply grounded friendship, but has marked a new beginning in the search for nonviolence and the kingdom of peace."

Larrabee in New Post

Kent R. Larrabee, former New York Regional Secretary of the FOR, recently took up his duties "on the growing edge of the spiritual and social needs of our age." Within a month after the closing of his regional office, Larrabee was offered the newly created position of Field Work Director with the Philadelphia Fellowship Commission. New York FOR people and all the national staff wish him well and are confident that he will readily meet the challenge of his new job.

National Council Nominations Due

Of the twenty-six members of the FOR National Council elected by the membership at large, thirteen are chosen every other year for a two-year term. Nominations have been made at the conference this summer. Additional nominations may be made by any five

members in good standing, in writing. All nominations must be in to the national office by October 15.

Ballots will be mailed to the members in November, and are due back by January 15. Newly elected members will be eligible to attend their first Council meetings in April.

Council members are also chosen by regional councils and by affiliated denominational pacifist fellowships.

Nevada Demonstrators Score U. S. Weapons Tests

Last month 100 persons met in Las Vegas, Nevada, under the auspices of Non-Violent Action Against Nuclear Weapons, a pacifist action group, to dramatize their steadfast opposition to the continued testing of nuclear weapons.

Beginning Saturday, August 3, with a full weekend of discussion forums, planning sessions, and workshops, the campaign moved into high gear the following Tuesday with the scheduled "invasion" of the prohibited test site area, two days before a planned bomb test. Twenty-five of the demonstrators conducted a "prayer vigil" just outside the AEC's Camp Mercury, gateway to the test site, and eleven marched into the prohibited area, where they were taken into custody by deputy sheriffs. The eleven were given six-month suspended sentences and released. The event was more fully reported in the press and on radio than any pacifist action in recent years, and was given 22½ column inches of coverage in *The New York Times*.

Participants in the "invasion" were: David Andrews, Bryce Babcock, Albert S. Bigelow, Prentiss Chaote, John C. Ingersoll Jr., Ted Klaseen, Theodore W. Olsen, Jim Peck, Sam Tyson, Mrs. Lillian R. Willoughby and Lawrence Scott.

This Gandhian action was first decided upon when representatives of a number of pacifist groups, including the FOR, met on April 22 in Philadelphia. The dates chosen for the beginning and end of the civil disobedience campaign, August 6 and 9, were the twelfth anniversary dates of the A-bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki respectively.

Among the members of the group's National Committee are FOR Secretary Emeritus A. J. Muste, *Catholic Worker* Editor Dorothy Day, New York AFSC Secretary Robert W. Gilmore, Homer A. Jack, minister of the First Unitarian Church of Evanston, Illinois and FOR Executive Secretary John M. Swomley Jr.

In a two-page memorandum titled "Reason and Morality," Lawrence Scott, coordinator of the action group, gave his personal reasons for engaging in the Nevada protest. "Civil disobedience against immoral and irrational laws by a few people," he wrote, "does not constitute a nonviolent revolution. But it is a beginning. A beginning must be made, since tomorrow the forces of evil . . . may be so great that no beginning will be possible."

Nuclear Arms An Issue In German Elections

As FELLOWSHIP went to press, campaigning was in full swing for the Bundestag (federal parliament) elections in West Germany. A major issue in the campaign was the question whether the German army should be equipped with

atomic weapons. The Social Democratic Party (SPD) is pledged to prevent this and also the stockpiling of such weapons on German soil.

In Bundestag debate on these issues on May 10, SPD spokesman Fritz Erler pointed out: "One must not argue that the other side is doing the same thing. Can two wrongs make a right? The German Bundestag should appeal to all concerned, without exception, and demand an end to all test explosions."

Another SPD official told FELLOWSHIP that "a dangerous trend . . . would be visible soon after the elections if the present government would continue in office."

Growing support for the SPD has been indicated in by-elections in recent months, and the vast majority of Germans, according to recent polls, coincide with the SPD in their views on arms. One such poll showed 72% opposed to equipping the army with nuclear weapons, 77% against storage of such weapons, 81% against continuation of tests. Only 5% believed there is any effective civil defense possible in a nuclear war.

At this writing, it still remains to be seen whether this pattern of opinion will have the hoped-for effect in the Sept. 15 elections.

Britons Propose "Unarmed Defense"

Under the sponsorship of such distinguished Britons as Sir Adrian Boult, Vera Brittain, Ritchie Calder, Prof. Charles Coulson, Lawrence Housman, Kathleen Lonsdale, Lord Boyd-Orr, Sir Herbert Read and the Rev. Donald O. Soper, the Standing Joint Pacifist Committee last month issued a report outlining an alternative to military defense.

Titled "Unarmed," the report considers the economic, political, social and psychological effects which would result from total unilateral disarmament in Britain.

The Joint Committee's proposals for training in nonviolence were paralleled by an earlier report by Commander Sir Stephen King-Hall, a former naval staff officer, recommending that the government appoint a Royal Commission to study the possibilities of abandoning nuclear armaments in favor of nonviolent defense.

Quaker Sentenced For Quitting CO Work

On June 21, Gerald S. Smith of North Smithfield, R. I., was sentenced to seven months in prison for refusing to complete 24 months of Alternative Service as a conscientious objector. Smith, after working for 13 months without pay in an AFSC camp in Mexico, returned to the United States when he became convinced that he could not conscientiously cooperate with Selective Service in any way.

Marine Objector Appeals For Noncombatant Duty

Peter H. Green, 18-year-old Marine private, has appealed to the Secretary of the Navy to grant his request for noncombatant status as a conscientious objector. His appeal is being expedited by the National Service Board for Religious Objectors.

Green, who was court-martialed in May for refusing to bear arms, became the subject of a *cause*

célèbre when, after six months of Marine Corps training, his religious pacifism "crystalized" and he applied for transfer to a medical unit as a CO.

In the court martial that followed Green's decision, a letter from his former minister, Dr. Harold A. Bosley, pastor of First Methodist Church, Evanston, Illinois, was read, which described Green's desire for CO status as "sincere." Dr. Bosley is a member of the FOR Advisory Council. Present at the trial to testify for Green were his present minister, Eugene C. Wood of Oceanside, California, and Methodist Bishop Gerald H. Kennedy of Los Angeles.

In cross-examination, trial counsel Capt. Gerald T. Gaffney resorted to smear tactics in efforts to link all of the above witnesses with Communism. After Bishop Kennedy's testimony, 1st Lt. Merrill Jacobs, a member of the five-man court martial board, reportedly said, "Who the hell was that creep you had on the stand?" The same officer was heard to say that he "did not think much of any religion which made provisions for conscientious objectors." Lt. Jacobs was removed from the court-martial board, but a defense motion for a mistrial was denied and Green was sentenced to four months at hard labor and forfeiture of $55 a month of his $83 monthly pay.

As a result of Lt. Jacobs' slurs and Capt. Gaffney's insinuations of subversion, 150 pastors of Disciples of Christ churches in southern California adopted a resolution expressing "disapproval and reproof" of the officers who "vilified the faith, integrity and character" of the clergymen and of the Methodist Church itself, and demanding an apology from the Marine Corps. A similar statement was voted at the annual meeting of the North Illinois Synod of the Evangelical and Reformed Church, and Methodist and other denominational leaders joined their voices in protest and in appeal for reconsideration of the verdict.

On June 27, Major General Reginald H. Ridgely, commandant of Camp Pendleton, set aside the conviction, dismissed the charges and assigned Green to noncombatant duty pending his appeal.

IN THE CHURCHES

World Council Urges "Risk for Peace"

In New Haven, Conn., last month the Central Committee of the World Council of Churches voted unanimously to adopt a 900-word statement titled "Atomic Tests and Disarmament" which said "there is a risk for the sake of peace which Christians, especially in countries projecting tests of nuclear weapons, are justified in advocating, in the hope of breaking through the barriers of distrust."

This statement, drafted by the Commission of the Churches on International Affairs, was followed by a Message to Churches which reiterated earlier resolutions in saying that "nothing less than the abolition of war itself should be the goal of the nations and their leaders and of all citizens." A new and bolder note was sounded, however, when the statement urged that "as a first step governments conducting tests should forego

them at least for a trial period, either together or individually, in the hope that the others will do the same."

Earlier the Church Peace Mission had sent a communication to the CCIA and the World Council of Churches urging a firm stand against "balance of terror" politics and calling for the exposure and condemnation of the "moral hideousness" of the testing and use of nuclear weapons.

Church Groups Urge Nuclear Test Ban

Since the last appearance of *In the Churches*, a number of church groups have called for a halt to nuclear weapons tests. Following is a summary of these developments:

• June 10—In Jacksonville, Illinois, the annual meeting of the Illinois Methodist Conference urged a one-year suspension of atomic tests and "renewed efforts in securing world disarmament."

• June 24—In Richmond, Virginia, the annual conference of the Church of the Brethren said that continued manufacture and testing presents not only a physical danger but imperils "our relations with other nations, especially in the Pacific area."

• June 24—In Omaha, Nebraska, the 98th annual synod of the Augustana Lutheran Church urged a halt to nuclear tests and rejected as "unworthy of any nation" the policy of building military bases around the world and the building of powerful military alliances.

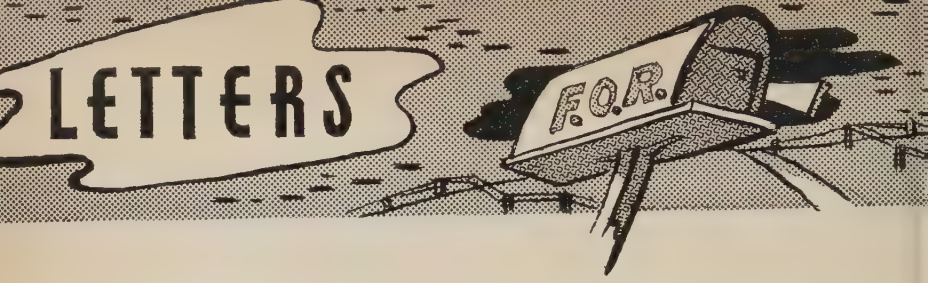
• June 24—In Redlands, California, the Southern California—Arizona Methodist Conference, after considerable debate, went on record against continued tests and peacetime conscription and granted permission to the Revs. Frank Crane and Jack Schaffer of University Methodist Church, Los Angeles, to circulate a petition "to mobilize the concern of the nation's Protestant clergy" against tests.

• June 27—In Fallsburg, N. Y., the 21st annual convention of the Rabbinical Council of America urged President Eisenhower to convene a meeting of religious leaders and scientists to discuss the moral implications of H-tests.

• July 8—FOR members Dr. George A. Buttrick, the Rev. Henry Hitt Crane and Dr. Harold E. Fey were among 83 religious, scientific and other leaders who signed a telegram urging the President to support a ban on all tests as a first step in disarmament negotiations. Other signers included Methodist Bishop G. Bromley Oxnam, Dr. John C. Bennett, Dr. Reinhold Niebuhr, Walter P. Reuther, James P. Carey, Norman Thomas and Mrs. Vivian Carter Mason.

Oregon Methodists Oppose ROTC in Their Colleges

On June 18, the Oregon Methodist Conference approved a report asking its members to "strive for the achievement of a Christian standard of higher education that does not deem it necessary to provide military training as a part of its curriculum." The Conference voted, however, to continue its support of Willamette University, a Methodist school which has had an Air ROTC program for seven years. The Air ROTC unit has been continued, despite a request last year by the Conference to dissolve it.



Nobel Prize Candidate

The Editors,
FELLOWSHIP:

I see that the March 15 issue of *Peace News* from London (p. 4) reprints my letter endorsing Dr. Alfred W. Parker for the Nobel Peace Prize. While it probably won't win the prize for Dr. Parker, it may start the Nobel committee thinking in the direction of giving recognition to some modest, unassuming person instead of finding prominent political leaders. If FELLOWSHIP can prod the Nobel Committee a little farther in this direction, it might be a good idea.

GLENN EVERETT
Washington, D. C.

Korea: Fact & Falsehood

The Editors,
FELLOWSHIP:

I read with interest Floyd Schmoe's "Letter from Seoul" in the April FELLOWSHIP. Although the author sounds sincere enough in his interpretation of present conditions in Korea, I am not entirely in agreement with the viewpoints expressed therein.

Mr. Schmoe gave honest and revealing facts on black marketeering and graft involved in shipments of American aid supplies to this war-ravaged country. However, his comments on the uncleanliness of the native population and his gibes concerning dirty conditions in Seoul are, in my firm estimation, untrue.

In his first paragraph he said: "This is by far the dirtiest city I have ever lived in. Two days after I wash my hair I can hardly get a comb through it." It seems to me that Mr. Schmoe is either stretching the story to arouse public sentiment, or else he does't know what he is talking about.

I spent two and a half years in Korea: one with the U. S. Army Signal Corps (before becoming a pacifist) and one and a half years as a civilian businessman with the American-owned and -operated Balcom Trading Company of Seoul and Pusan. I learned many things about the customs, culture and habits of the Korean people.

When I read Mr. Schmoe's statement that "not one out of a thousand of Seoul's million and a half people has access to a private bath," I must admit I was rather amused at the author's lack of knowledge. I wonder how he arrived at this tremendous figure, and can he back it up?

Furthermore, he had the gall to say that "one out of a hundred may get to a public bath house and the other 99% seldom see soap and water." I'd like to know if Mr. Schmoe took this survey himself and, if so, why check the lower income brackets only?

It was far worse when he went on to report: "I am sure there are thousands here who have not had a bath since the war." This is the most stupid statement in the whole article and I want to publicly ask Mr. Schmoe why he said he can't keep himself clean? He must be a very untidy fellow!

While I was living and working in Korea I took a shower or bath anytime I wanted to and hot water and soap were

by no means "two of the most expensive things in Korea."

As for the Editors of FELLOWSHIP, I'd suggest that they concern themselves with the subject they know best, and that's pacifism and non-violence. They seem to lack adequate and proper knowledge of Korea, the rehabilitation picture and the customs and culture of the Korean people themselves.

FREDERICK R. CHAFFEE
Cambridge, Mass.

The Editors,
FELLOWSHIP:

Frederick Chaffee's letter shows that two people can view a scene and come to two very different opinions of what they see. I also have great concern for the Korean people and I have spent four years trying to help them find better living conditions, especially in housing.

I lived last summer in Korean homes. For the first several weeks I rented a room in the house of a Korean doctor well above the average in economic and social status. It was here that I wrote the letter Mr. Chaffee objects to. We had a bath but no one used it. There was no water except what was bought and carried in pails by the maid, and there was little fuel to heat it and that was expensive. We all went to the public bath house—I at 5 A.M. on the theory that the water would be cleaner then. It was a rainy season and the street was not paved. Mud was splashed on my window by every passing truck. It was a market area and the mud contained much more than soil. The dirt which got in my hair came, however, by air from the main-

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A. J. MUSTE

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land of Asia, I'm told. Korea has always had these dust storms from the Gobi and certainly the people of Seoul were not blamed by me for them.

Later I set up my own household, Korean style, in the San Chil area, a real slum but not worse than six or seven others in Seoul. (Perhaps this half-million refugee population of Seoul came after Mr. Chaffee left.) I have no figures and my guesses may be far from accurate (they are based on considerable observation and experience, however), but I know there was only one public bath house in the entire district of two or three densely packed square miles of area. I never saw nor do I know of any private, operational baths in the entire area. This does not mean that the people would not like to have a bath or that they never bathe. It is amazing how clean they manage to keep under the circumstances. Perhaps Seoul was unusually short of water last summer. I have always lived in villages before. We paid 10 Hwan per can for water and 65H per day to have it carried to us—more than half a mile.

The "thousands" who I was sure had not had a bath "since the war" referred to the thousands of beggars and thieves —you can count a few hundred at any given moment between the station and South Gate—who I am sure, from their condition, never bathe. There are reasons of course, and the war, for which we were more responsible than they, was behind most of the reasons.

But this is useless argument. It won't change the situation and I wish I were as wrong as Mr. Chaffee says that I am.

FLOYD SCHMOE
Seattle, Washington

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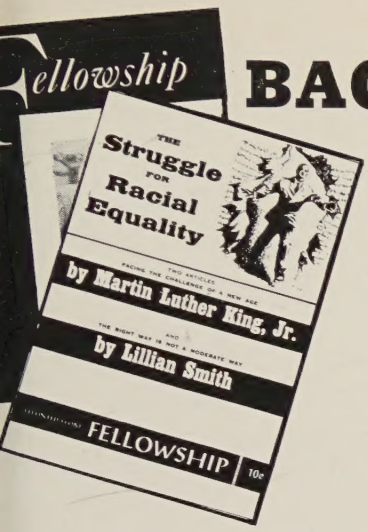

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